The IDLER

Public Occurrences, Comment, Excursions & Rational Entertainment

Nr 24 OCTOBER 1966 25c THE COPY

Black Power

THE MOVEMENT'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

By Jerry DeMuth

"We have to build up what I call 'pockets of power' in every hamlet in this nation — power that operates outside the national structure, power through which people can say, 'This is what we want.'"

These are not the recent words of Stokely Carmichael from an explanation of Black Power. Rather they were spoken three years ago by John Lewis, the then chairman of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) whom Carmichael replaced last May.

That same year, 1963, Howard Zinn, then a professor at Spellman College in Atlanta and who is presently at Boston University, told a SNCC conference that the ballot box, for which SNCC was then fighting, would not give Negroes much power. Zinn, a SNCC advisor and author of a book on the organization, explained that SNCC should build up "centers of power outside the official political mechanism."

Black Power then is not something entirely new. It is merely a further development of a change that has been several years in the making.

In the past, development occurred quietly and national attention was focused almost solely on church bombings and Klan slayings. Now the spotlight is on the civil rights organizations themselves, especially SNCC which, although it is six years old, few people had heard of until a year or two ago.

Two months after being replaced as SNCC chairman, John Lewis explained, "I support the concept of Black Power and I have tried repeatedly to articulate it to people in terms they can understand, so that they will know it is for civil rights, not against whites. I don't use the term itself so often but that's all I've been talking about all along."

The most well known application of Black Power is the so-called Black Panther Party in Lowndes County, Alabama. This is actually the Lowndes County Freedom Organization — if it wins a fixed percentage of the votes in November it will then become a party. The black panther is merely its symbol. According to Alabama law all political parties must have a symbol which is to appear on the ballot to help identify the party. The symbol of the Democratic Party of Alabama is not the donkey, but the rooster. Two banners surrounded the rooster, reading "White Supremacy — For the Right," but were removed after SNCC began organizing its own party.

This Democratic Party, with white supremacy as its motto, and Gov. George Wallace, Sheriff Jim Clark and Col. Al Lingo as its leading members, could not be accepted by Negroes in Lowndes County, one of Alabama's most racist and brutal counties.

"The party of Kennedy is also the party of Eastland. The party of Javits is also the party of Goldwater. Where is our party?" John Lewis asked on August 28, 1963, at the March on Washington.

One year later, the SNCC-organized Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), which wanted to be a part of the National Democratic Party, failed at the convention, echoing Lewis' question.

The token victory which they rejected offered the MFDP two "at-large" seats. These two delegates would not have any voting power, were to represent not Mississippi but American Negroes in general, and the two specific individuals who were to serve as delegates were picked by the credentials committee of the national convention, not by the members of the MFDP. This was seen as an affront, with touches of paternalism, to Mississippians, most of them Negroes, who had struggled for the national party.

"The MFDP tried to integrate into the national party," Carmichael said in an interview last May 3, two weeks before becoming SNCC chairman. "It went to Atlantic City and said, 'We've been suppressed by the Eastlands and the Barnetts. They don't support your candidates. We are the party that supports your candidates. Seat us.' They were

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Idler

Published each month in Washington, D. C., for the edification, information, and entertainment of its readers. Twenty-five cents the copy. Three Dollars a year (Four Dollars abroad).

Contents Copyright 1966 by The Idler. Permission is granted to reproduce articles from The Idler, provided The Idler is given proper credit and a copy of the reprinted article is sent us.

Material independently copyrighted or upon which rights have been reserved may not be reproduced without the permission of the author or copyright holder.

Editor: sam smith
413 Sixth St. NE
Washington 2, D.C.
202-546-9662

Associate Editors:
Mike Bell
Erbin Crowell

Circulation, correspondence, coffee:
Sally Crowell

Printer: Warren Printing Company
6 State St.
Warren, R. I.
401-245-8888

turned down. Their appeal was denied because of coalitions. And that taught us something about the Democratic Party. Its interests aren't our interests."

Early in 1965 SNCC communications director Julian Bond ran for the Georgia legislature as a member of the Democratic Party, as part of the establishment. Although he wanted to change the establishment, he was prepared to work from within rather than from without. The House refused to seat him. His seat being vacant, he ran again, was elected, and for the second time was refused a seat. After over a year his Negro constituents remain without representation.

After Julian Bond, Atlantic City, and the Alabama Democratic Party with its proclamation of white supremacy, what is there except a Black Panther Party?

The Black Panther Party and the philosophy of Black Power is more than an attempt to get political power. It is also an attempt to show Negroes that they can do something for themselves, that they can have pride, that they do have ability.

"People long accustomed to self-contempt are beginning to believe in their own voice," Carmichael finds.

Without this, integration cannot exist, there cannot be equal participation.

"Black people can't participate in coalitions on an equal basis unless they speak on the basis of equal power," Carmichael told an Evanston, Illinois, audience late in July.

Julian Bond has pointed out how Negroes when visited by a Negro civil rights worker would say no to requests to go and register, but say yes to a white worker, not because they intended to go, but because the worker was white and Negroes say yes to a white man, not no. Given this situation, organizing must be done by Negroes not by whites.

As Carmichael explained last June, "We have also found that the power of black people as a group force cannot be developed as long as they are fearful and believe, consciously or unconsciously, that they are inferior. We must change the attitude expressed by a Wilcox County, Alabama, Negro who voted for the white sheriff on May 3, saying, 'We aren't ready to have a colored sheriff. The white folks wouldn't have liked that a bit.'"

Because of this mental attitude, Dr. Alvin Poussaint, clinical instructor in psychiatry at Tufts University, Boston, has praised Black Power as the answer to the inferior image the Negro has of himself.

Speaking at the National Medical Association convention in August in Chicago, Dr. Poussaint said that self-esteem and dignity can be achieved quicker by group strength than by "begging for acceptance into the white man's institution.

"The white man cannot give Negroes black consciousness. They must give it to themselves. Black people must undo the centuries of brainwashing by the white man and substitute in its stead a postive self-image and positive concepts of one's self.

"Some leaders," he added, "argue that Negroes in the South must integrate into white institutions from a position of weakness and as an unequal. This leaves him at the psychological mercy of the racist white who has the power and control."

The National Committee of Negro Churchmen of the Commission on Religion and Race, National Council of Churches, made the same point in early August in a newspaper advertisement headed "Black Power":

"A more equal sharing of power is precisely what is required at the precondition of authentic human interaction," the 48 signatories wrote. "We understand the growing demand of Negro and white youth for a more honest kind

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Carmichael: What is There?

Why It's Thinner

The Idler enters its third year of publication in a manner considerably less auspicious than I might have hoped. The continued heavy financial losses of past months have finally caught up with me and I am forced to lighten the load or dump it entirely.

The Idler's first two years have been pleasant ones. Its circulation has increased, the number of fine writers contributing to it has grown, and it has had its articles republished or quoted in such diverse larger journals as the Reader's Digest, Washington Post, Congressional Record, Columbia Journalism Review, St. Louis Post Dispatch, Afro-American and Vancouver Sun.

The Idler has, in fact, thrived in most every regard other than the pecuniary one. This problem, however, will be greatly alleviated by reducing the number of pages each month; eliminating free copies to libraries, government officials and newspapers; and by cutting back on promotional advertising — provided, of course, that the magazine's readers continue to support it. This they can do by renewing for several years (see elsewhere in this issue for details) and by introducing The Idler to friends through gift subscriptions.

The former Idler was fat but its life expectancy was short. The new Idler is lean and expects an existence extending far into the future. I appreciate the enthusiasm the magazine has enjoyed so far and hope that it will continue.

—S.S.

of integration: one which increases rather than decreases the capacity of the disinherited to participate with power in all of the structures of our common life. Without this capacity to **participate with power**—i.e., to have some organized political and economic strength to really influence people with whom one interacts — integration is not meaningful. For the issue is not one of racial balance but of honest interracial interaction."

Since this situation that Dr. Poussaint and the committee look forward to does not yet exist, Carmichael has stated, "Integration is an insidious subterfuge for white supremacy."

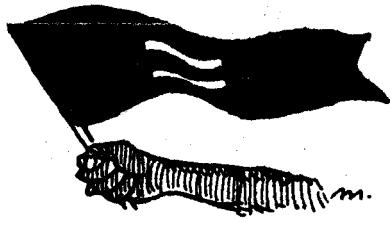
This is because, Carmichael comments, "Negroes have been made to believe that everything better is always white."

School integration, he explains, means Negroes transferring to white schools because white schools are better, not whites transferring to Negro schools. Further, integration of this kind, he maintains, is not only related to white supremacy, but does not help most Negro youths who must remain in the inferior Negro schools.

Biracial but unequal participation is also a growing problem in government programs, especially those of the War on Poverty. As long as the participation is unequal the basic problems of the Negro community cannot be solved. Negroes will not be able to create something better for themselves. Control will remain in the hands of the white establishment, people who while not actual racists still want to preserve the status quo, the system under which Negroes have suffered.

In summer 1965, former SNCC workers began to try to work with the federal government's War on Poverty, just as the MFDP had tried to work with the National Democratic Party.

The Child Development Groups of Mississippi (CDGM) received a grant to operate Head Start schools in a number of towns. Unlike the officially operated Head Start schools, CDGM was not run by local officials and did not rely on local teachers for instructors. Rather, it drew upon local Negroes to run the schools.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Because of objections from Sen. John Stennis of Mississippi, CDGM was almost abolished. It finally received a renewal last February but it is understood that OEO will not allow CDGM to exist longer than a couple more years. Meanwhile, in places such as Bolivar County, the OEO is giving its approval to establishment run Head Start programs to replace the CDGM ones. Thus the federal government is permitting, through its programs, the continuation of white control of Negro lives. This is one thing that SNCC has now dedicated itself to fighting against.

SNCC has also seen federal commodities go undistributed in the Mississippi Delta, or distributed only to those Negroes who are not involved in civil rights.

Meanwhile, jobs for Negroes get fewer and fewer in retaliation for civil rights activities and as a result of increasing mechanization of agriculture and a reduction this year of cotton allotments. Without any change in this situation being apparent, SNCC has looked increasingly to structural changes in society to end this problem.

Even the civil rights acts for which movement was largely responsible have created little basic change. Further, despite the 1964 Civil Rights Act, it was still up to Negroes, often led by SNCC workers, to attempt to desegregate restaurants in all but the larger towns, and often to get beaten and arrested because of the attempt.

In 1965, SNCC saw few federal registrars in southern counties. More recently in Alabama, it witnessed harassing and delaying tactics to discourage or prevent Negroes from voting in the May primary.

The government sent federal registrars into only seven counties in Alabama and did not even have examiners at any of the six ballot boxes challenged by Jim Clark in Selma. The department not only did not do all that it could have, but praised the manner in which the election was conducted.

In the May 3 primary, whites overwhelmingly voted for Mrs. Waliace. This ended any illusions among SNCC workers that there were thousands of moderate whites who, although publicly silent, would vote for a moderate candidate, a Richmond Flowers or Carl Elliot, in the privacy of the voting booth.

"Just let me have my road and my school and go on from there," Carmichael told students at Spellman College in Atlanta in July.

"I think," he said, "that in six years this country has shown that we demonstrated from a point of weakness . . .

"After six years and several civil rights bills we're at the same point. I think you can't speak from a point of weakness any more. What you do is you organize yourselves and you go see the man and say: 'Look. I've got 5,000 votes. I need a street paved. Either you get it paved or you don't get our votes. That's it.'"

Or as Carmichael more simply phrased it in Greenwood before the Meredith marchers:

"We been saying 'freedom' for six years and we ain't got nothing. What we're gonna start saying now is 'Black Power'!"

The McDowell Papers

By Charles McDowell, Jr.

WASHINGTON

Modernizing the United States Navy is a melancholy process. They phased the old four-stack destroyers, then the mighty battleships, and now they are trying to phase out the cows.

It has been reassuring to know that the nation's arsenal included those cows, proudly deployed on an 800-acre farm near Annapolis to supply milk to the midshipmen in the highest naval tradition.

The herd was commissioned in 1911 during a typhoid scare at the Naval Academy and grew until it numbered more than 600 at one time. It now has a complement of 310 cows, 230 calves and four bulls, all commanded by a senior lieutenant.

Skipper of the herd — it has been a unique assignment for a succession of lieutenants and even lieutenant commanders, a chance to broaden their experience with a three-year tour of duty in a farm house as commanding officer of 600 cows and 45 civilian employees.

If the old man missed the sea, he could always take a hay rake out for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a run over the rolling Maryland countryside.

But enough of romance and wistfulness. The General Accounting Office, which has never been overwhelmed by either, recently made a study of the navy's dairy. It concluded that the typhoid scare had ended with pasteurization and that the Naval Academy could purchase plenty of wholesome milk from commercial sources, probably at some small saving to the government.

On this recommendation, the Department of Defense, which is ever sensitive to charges that it might be competing with private enterprise, ordered that the cows be phased out and the dairy closed within the next couple of years.

Things looked dark for navy traditionalists. Then, suddenly, powerful forces began to stir, and they are stirring still. Things do not yet look bright, but we can report that a small chance exists to save the navy's cows.

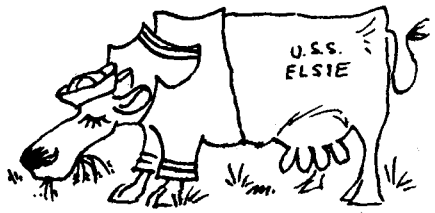
High officers of the navy let it be known that they disagreed with the civilian judgment of the General Accounting Office and the Department of Defense. Residents in the neighborhood of the farm let it be known that they liked its green acres and would fight the sale of the tract for housing or industrial development. Various Maryland congressmen began to make noises on all sides of the issue.

Then the most powerful force of all began to maneuver — Rep. L. Mendel Rivers, the South Carolina Democrat who is chairman of the House Armed Forces Committee. His hair is trimmed in the style of John Paul Jones, and his conviction is that the civilian economizers in the Department of Defense would strip this country's defenses for a mess of computer tape.

More than anything else, Mendel Rivers hates to see a defense installation closed. If he decides that those cows are a vital defense installation, he will fight for the dairy as only Mendel Rivers can fight when the country's security is at stake.

A subcommittee of Rivers' committee undertook an investigation of the situation and held a hearing the other day.

An assistant secretary of the navy was there to defend the Department of Defense, free enterprise and economy. He



was supported by commercial dairy interests and two Republican congressmen from Maryland. (One of the Republican congressmen, Charles McC. Mathias, even spoke darkly of the possibility that agencies other than the navy might be conducting "clandestine dairy operations." He was for rooting them out.)

The subcommittee — headed by a Democratic congressman from Maryland, as luck would have it — seemed to be on the side of the cows, however. The counsel from Rivers' staff was vigorously pro-cow.

If Rivers decides to make a real fight of it, the Department of Defense may wish it had never noticed the navy herd in Maryland. On his past performance, Rivers is capable of insisting not only that the herd be kept in the nation's arsenal but that it be enlarged, and that the Pentagon forego all this false economy and assign cows in mobile units to all the ships at sea.

(Copyright, Newsday, 1966)

HUMOR BOOKS

Send stamped-addressed envelope to Laff Book Club, 4323 32nd Rd. So., Arlington, Va., 22206, for free copy of Laff Book Club Newsletter. "Very funny," says Humor Lobbyist Jim Atkins.

Renew Early and Save!

If you renew early, using the form below, and save us the trouble of sending you a renewal notice, you also save. Help stamp out renewal notices. Renew today.

Please renew my subscription to the Idler for the period checked:

- ☐ one year: $2.50
- ☐ three years: $7.00
- ☐ five years: $10.00

I enclose the correct amount.

Name .....

Address .....

.....

Zip Code .....

Idler 413 6th St. NE
Washington, D.C. 20002

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Plan for Protest

By Frank Turaj

The Johnson-Humphrey administration has tried to preclude the emergence of any influential voting protest on the war in Viet Nam by setting up a howl as articulate and lyrical as a coyote over the intentions, patriotism and manhood of anyone "not supportin' ar' boys sloshin' in th' mud and fightin' in the elfent grass up t'ere." Candidates ambitious for influence have fled the field. Liberals at discrete, small house-gatherings mutter discontent but refuse to clear their throats with an honest condemnation. There are few opposition candidates. **Vox populi.** The majority is heard. The head dog leads a yowling pack.

Nonetheless, there is a potentially significant and effective influence dormant in that segment of the voting population which is radically in disagreement with the administration on the Viet Nam war. To be sure, there is no majority here, nor even a possible majority now. But there is a large enough marginal vote to make life miserable for any number of candidates in the coming congressional elections and even for the man himself in 1968. But the vote, to have influence, needs to be coherent and identifiable. Above all, there needs to be such a vote.

Establishment Democrats assume that the serious left will have nowhere else to turn in November. The thinking is that with a choice only between a liberal, acceptable on other issues, and a Republican who would probably be a hawk, the vote would go to the liberal by default. In those areas where there will be a protest candidate, the mealy liberals will argue that a vote for protest will result only in the election of a real, out-and-out hawk, a conservative, a horror. Spheres! We have had sweet-damn-all but horror since Gunsmoke rode onto the great white ranch. That argument fails. The really practical alternative at this unhappy point is to buy an option on the future. We can do this with a punishment vote. A vote denied. The vote that the politicians will have to work for, pay for, buy back in the future, if they want it.

That is the first argument working for the punishment vote: we have nothing to lose from it. We will have something to gain in the future. Thus far, our voice, the voice of opposition, has been absolutely ignored. Our position is condemned. We are vilified, slandered and insulted by flag-wavers right up to the top echelons of the administration, even by our old honest hero humping and huffing at a hell of a clip after the horse's tail.

There is no use arguing that it could be worse. Johnson is applying measures that Goldwater refrained from endorsing. The White House and the State Department are led around by the JCS. The logic of our policy follows the Pentagon, not the public or political decency. Rusk is so paranoid on this issue now he is getting beady-eyed. Others, higher, who never reflected any decency, simply bellow and lie and look you straight in the eye.

And there is nothing convincing in the argument that there are other issues, the domestic program for example. Our domestic welfare has gone to hell for the duration of the Viet Nam war. All the promises that came in 1960 have been paid off, for the time being. Medicare, Civil Rights legislation, Poverty Program, Peace Corps, etc., are all here. There will be no more. Even what there is is financially sabotaged by the blood-and-money suckers from the Department of Defense. What has been won is hampered by the war. It is plain. There is only one real issue now, the war.

By uniting on the issue of the war, by demonstrating a vote of lever strength, the left will gain options on serious attention from liberal politicians in every election in the future. It will show itself as a group whose existence cannot be ignored or deplored. It may ultimately exercise an influence as effective on candidates as the Liberal Party in New York, or the radical right at the Republican convention in 1964. It's our turn to be the tail that wags the dog. The Pentagon has been at it long enough. We have as much call upon the deference of politicians as that band of fanatic moderates at the political center.

The methods to make the vote coherent and identifiable are relatively simple. No complicated national apparatus is necessary, although help from national organizations can always be asked. In most locations where a protest-punishment vote might be successful there is already a cadre of opponents. They might be SNCC, SANE, ADA, Viet Nam Day, anyone. Their role would be to get sufficient publicity to insure that all protesters vote the same way. If there is a protest candidate, the vote will go to him. In this case, it would be necessary to concentrate publicity on the fact that there will be nothing to lose and a future gained by an accumulation of votes by a protest candidate, **even if this means the defeat of a liberal who is mealy on the Viet Nam issue.**

Where there is no protest candidate, the local protest groups should study

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

well in advance the ballots used, or the voting machine system anticipated. They should work out in advance an identifiable way of casting protest votes. If the vote simply went into the column of a hawk, the gesture would be misread. It may be necessary to select certain races in which voting will be omitted, while the voter makes his choice in all the others. For example, if Rep. X, run-of-the-mill silent liberal, is running against Mr. Q, old-line wardog, the tack would be to vote for all other offices, Lt. Gov., J.P., etc., carefully not recording a vote in the congressional race. The difference between the totals would be the identifiable protest. In some areas spoiled ballots are reported. It might be effective to use that method. It would always be important to get publicity of the kind that would make it necessary for the press to be looking for and reporting on the measurable protest. Minimal publicity and planning ought to be sufficient for this. The distribution of voting directions, or sample ballots, would serve very effectively as a guage for everyone.

In areas where results are more important than stringy hair and tight pants, the protest campaign might well be pitched as an anti-Johnson campaign, siphoning off some of the less intelligent (which is to say the moron) conservative vote into an anti-Johnson protest. That is, the anti Viet-Nam war protest can be pitched so that it does not stress leftist militancy, but rather caesarism on the Pedernales. Even conservative candidates might find it hard to fight off a protest against Johnson, a protest of omission, if this is indicated as the best way to vote against the abdominal showman.

The results would be to make available a local and a national measure of the sizeable swing fraction of unrepresented voters who think left, who think against the war finks, but who are constrained to vote for velvet liberalism for lack of any alternative. Borrowing techniques from the John Birch Society and John Grenier, a protest move now may serve as the first organization on local levels of a cadre around which to build a movement quite transcending a protest. There are many who are ready for a third party or something like it in many places. A hard stand against the war is important in itself, and it can grow and spread into other areas, as the civil rights movement has spread into contiguous areas. Political punishment is an honest, indeed essential device of democracy. Now is the time for the left to roll up its sleeves and spit on its hands. Throw the bums out!

HUGH HAYNIE ...

" . . . REGRETS TO INFORM YOU OF THE LOSS OF YOUR BROTHER, U THANT, OVER VIET NAM . . . "

Alcoholics On the Beach

The wordless waves said words
And the wild-winged antics of birds
Sliced the sky's inner shell:
The taste of the wind was cool
Yet nature had played us the fool,
Accenting our inner hell.

—Erbin Crowell

OUR AD RATES ARE LOW

$2.00 per inch

10c per word (classified)

Back Issues

September 1964 — Summer 1965 (Dec. '64 & Jan. '65 missing): $1.50. September 1965 — Summer 1966: $1.50. Send check to Idler, 413 6th St. NE, Washington, D.C. 20002

CREDITS

The character sketches are drawn by John Perts, of Suffolk, Va.

Bob and Susie Sanderson, of Bristol, R. I., helped — as usual — with the production of this issue.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Corner Aphorist

By Sam A. Darcy

☞Herbert Brayn of Bryn Mawr, Pa., a student of Environmental Psychology, writes to say that in setting safety regulations for automobile manufacturers, Congress is missing a good bet. Auto makers now name their cars Barracuda, Fury, Thunderbird, Mustang, Falcon and Impala. The subliminal suggestion to drivers is to try to live up to these names. They drive with the courtesy of a barracuda, fury in style, noise of a thunderbird, wild as mustang; and, in the predatory manner of a falcon, they seem to be trying to impale pedestrians on their radiator caps.

Suppose cars' names were Gentleman, Courteous, Easy Life, Smile or Friendly? And foreign cars now called Jaguar, Fiat, etc. could be named Gemutlichkeit, Chanson d'Amour, Please and Tovarish.

In a nation so full of violence this will be received with hoots of derision. But it might help. Why not?

☞Louis Ginsberg, the distinguished poet-teacher of Rutgers, sent us these:

—A Birchite worships the ground his head is buried in.

—In politics, some men are self-made, others are machine-made.

—Hush money often talks the loudest.

☞LBJ was elected partly on the promise to make the tax dollar go further, and he sure kept his promise. About $2 billion each month goes to the Vietnam war. That's 12,000 miles away, exactly the other side of the earth. Can't go any further, that's for sure!

☞Readers have been sending us examples of nutty laws on our books. If summer madness didn't get you, these may:

—Penal Code 6260, Calif. State Vehicle Act, Chapter XVIII, Par. 187: It is a misdemeanor to shoot at any kind of game bird or mammal—except a whale—from an automobile.

Ohio General Code. Title II, Chapter 20, Page 1590, Sec. 6281: A person assaulted and lynched by a mob may recover, from the county in which such assault is made, a sum not to exceed five hundred dollars.

—Code of Alabama, Sec. 5539: Any person who engages in domino playing on Sunday . . . must be fined.

☞Poet Walter Lowenfels, of Peekskill, New York is writing **The Pentagon's Mother Goose**, from which he sends us the opening lines: "One two/ Button my shoe./ U 237/ See you in Heaven."

☞It strikes us that in their dealings with each other, the world's diplomats are like a college prof we once had. At an examination he announced: "This exam will be conducted on the honor system. Please take seats four seats apart and in alternate rows."

FLOTSAM & JETSAM

The recent American Legion convention was noisy testimony to how little some men learn from war.

We feel than anyone giving material support to hostile nations or Rep. Joe Pool should be locked up for at least 20 years.

THE IDLER
413 6th St. NE
Washington, D. C. 20002

Return Requested

Bulk Rate
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
Warren, R. I.
Permit No. 36

DATED MATERIAL

THIRD CLASS MAIL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED